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862 The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

857 861 [154] Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, as distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

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861 seen or heard, then the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave
848 new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become single-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their
857 earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food
867 containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

861 It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of dis-
858 cipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by ob-
884 serving simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

## III

861 So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Mention of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming

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861 socialised have been confined to generalised statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalised crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialisation process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[1]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[2] for the day while
152 his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

Linki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Linki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Linki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [1] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific general taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[2] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privileges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

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114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [173] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [86] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [348] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [565] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

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159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
● [861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.